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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 66th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 19 November 1992, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. AL-HADDAD (Yemen)
(Vice-President)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [33] (continued)

  (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid

  (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

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This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

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(c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports

(d) Reports of the Secretary-General

(e) Report of the Special Political Committee

United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [34] (continued)

(a) Report of the Secretary-General

(b) Draft resolution

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 33 AND 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/47/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/47/43)

(c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/47/45)

(d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/525, A/47/559, A/47/574)

(e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/47/616)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/513)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.15)

Mr. SALLAH (Gambia): I should first like to congratulate the Secretary-General on the excellent, thought-provoking reports on South Africa prepared for our consideration. These reports reflect not only the current events taking place in connection with the constitutional evolution of South Africa, but also the international community's concern about the persistent violence and the interruption to the negotiating process.

My delegation commends the Special Committee against Apartheid for its work, especially the leadership role of its able Chairman, Mr. Gambari. The Committee symbolizes a pillar of hope to all those yearning for peace, the end of violence and the attainment of majority rule in South Africa. It is indeed gratifying to note that the Committee has remained steadfast in its mandate to eradicate apartheid and all its ramifications.

The Gambia will continue to give support to the activities of the Committee and the Centre Against Apartheid. It is also the hope of my delegation that more funds will be made available to the Special Committee

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

against Apartheid to enable it to meet the cost of special projects designed to achieve the eradication of apartheid and the attainment of majority rule in South Africa.

The Gambia has at every opportunity joined the international community in condemning apartheid and calling for majority rule in South Africa without undue delay. The political changes and actions initiated by the South African Government in recent years gave a glimmer of hope that the aspirations of the black people would soon be realized. However, the persistent bloody violence and senseless killings in South Africa continue to shock and baffle all peace-loving peoples the world over. In spite of the international community's strong condemnation of the unwarranted massacre at Boipatong township on 17 June 1992, the violence and killings still continue.

It is sad that despite the expression by the De Klerk minority Government of a genuine desire for peaceful change to a multiracial and democratic society, at least in public, the disclosures by the Goldstone Commission have proved once again that certain segments of South African society are out to make a mockery of the process of change. The actions of the South African Defence Force and the anti-African National Congress (ANC) disinformation campaign have cast serious doubts on De Klerk's repeated pronouncements that the South African military does not engage in partisan politics. In the light of the Goldstone Commission disclosures my delegation fully supports the ANC's call for the De Klerk Government to make public all covert military operations.

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

These reckless acts of violence and senseless killing should not continue unchecked. The Government of South Africa is morally obligated to ensure the security of all South Africans and to safeguard their fundamental rights to live free from threats to their lives and possessions.

The Gambia had hoped that the signing of the National Peace Accord would herald the beginning of a more cooperative spirit and broad-based consultations between all parties in an atmosphere of tolerance, understanding and the desire for a violence-free South Africa as it progresses towards a democratic form of Government. It would appear, however, that what the South African Government has so far succeeded in achieving is the reformulation of some of the obnoxious policies of apartheid as well as moderation in carrying out some of its more fundamental practices in order to satisfy the international community's strong demands for political change in South Africa and to reduce its constant condemnation of apartheid.

As we observe with keen interest the unfolding political upheavals in South Africa, my delegation is concerned about the persistent violence there, which has indeed been a subject of international concern. Important resolutions adopted by the Security Council to curb the violence and pave the way for a resumption of the negotiating process should be fully implemented. To enhance the realization of these objectives, my delegation urges in particular the effective implementation of Security Council resolution 765 (1992) and the report of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

Furthermore, the Gambia endorses the recommendations of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in South Africa. Pressure should therefore be brought to bear on the Government of South Africa to implement

(Mr. Sallah, Gambia)

these recommendations and other United Nations measures in order to create an atmosphere conducive to smooth and peaceful negotiations by all parties on South Africa's political future.

To facilitate the process of effective negotiation, my delegation joins the international community in advocating free political activities, the release of all remaining political prisoners, the return of all political refugees and exiles and their effective integration into South African society, and the abolition of all legislation and security measures designed to hinder the negotiating process.

My delegation views with concern the failure of all the parties to the conflict to evolve a common position representing in totality the aspirations and concerns of the people of South Africa for a transitional Government and the attainment of majority rule in South Africa. It is therefore important that all the signatories of the National Peace Accord and other parties should continue to demonstrate their commitment to peace and the process of democracy and national unity.

The Gambia will continue to encourage every effort for closer consultations between all the parties with a view to bringing about the holding of broad-based negotiations leading to an agreement on a new constitution, linked to an acceptable form of transitional Government. It is for these reasons that my delegation welcomed the United Patriotic Front Conference involving all parties.

As long as violence persists in South Africa; as long as the South African regime fails to translate its stated decision to end apartheid into effective, realistic and acceptable political measures; as long as some groups

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continue to divert attention and efforts from the negotiating process and the evolution of a constitutional democratic form of Government; as long as the vast majority of South Africans continue to live in a state of fear and insecurity; and as long as all the parties involved in the negotiation process fail to make progress; so will peace, security and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa continue to elude South Africans and render more difficult the efforts of the international community to help in the process of change.

Mr. HIDALGO BASULTO (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The elimination of apartheid and the creation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, which, instead of being a danger to its neighbours and a constant threat to peace and security in southern Africa, would become a force for peace, cooperation and stability in the area, has long been the objective of the majority of the international community.

Therefore, since the beginning of the process now under way in South Africa, which initiated the historically inevitable progress towards the dismantling of apartheid, consideration of this item within the General Assembly has acquired a new dimension. We believe that our consideration of it is as important as ever, or perhaps even more so, because our Organization can and must continue to play a significant role in eliminating the remaining obstacles to the final attainment of the objectives set out by the international community in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

Careful observation of what has happened in South Africa during the year since our last session leads us to both encouraging and disturbing conclusions.

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

It is true that progress has been made and that peaceful change has begun in South African society. But we are aware that there remain a number of laws, provisions and regulations that are part of the legal pillars created over the decades to sustain the apartheid system, and that they continue to slow down the creation of the right atmosphere for free political discussion, a prerequisite for ensuring that all South African people - blacks, whites, Indians and others in this heterogeneous nation - can participate with equal rights and opportunities in rebuilding their country.

We are also aware that it has not yet been possible to end the wave of violence that has afflicted South Africa in recent months, leading to a series of events such as Boipatong and Ciskei, with their resulting bloodshed, grief and atmosphere of distrust. We do not feel that it would be appropriate to focus on analysing the violence per se; much more is required. In our opinion, to overcome that violence, it is essential to examine its underlying causes, the forces that encourage it and the shameful objectives of those who carry it out.

The Goldstone report is undoubtedly a step in the right direction, but it should not be the only step. We must study in greater depth the causes of this escalation of violence in South Africa, so that the necessary measures can be taken to eradicate them. Here the South African Government itself has an important task; it must act vigorously to ensure that the country achieves the stability it needs to continue the negotiating process - which seemed quite encouraging at the beginning - if it really wants to move towards the eradication of the abominable practice of apartheid and towards the establishment of a united, non-racial society.

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

The international community must continue to play the important role it has played in the past. Those forces in South Africa that are opposed to change and encourage violence as a means of frustrating it must be made to understand clearly that the United Nations will not tolerate any attempt to perpetuate the odious apartheid regime or to play the game of those that seek to perpetuate it.

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

But, to ensure success in this undertaking, one must not act in haste. We sincerely believe that the measures taken to lift the sanctions imposed on Pretoria by the United Nations are premature. The events of this past year have demonstrated that instead of accelerating the change that is needed, the forces that are most opposed to change have been encouraged and this in turn has encouraged the unleashing of many different forms of violence.

Our objectives must be to obtain the release all those who have been struggling against apartheid, without exception; to repeal all of the racist legislation; to draft a new constitution in which all the forces representing the South African people will have a part; to elect a constituent assembly on the basis of universal suffrage, and to form an interim government of national unity. These must be our objectives now.

We are confident that when this process has been completed successfully and proves to be irreversible and when the interim government so requests, the General Assembly will then be able to shoulder its responsibilities and not only lift all of the sanctions against South Africa but also consider the measures necessary in order to cooperate with the new authorities in rebuilding the country.

Continuing along this road is important not only for South Africa but also for neighbouring peoples who have freely decided to rebuild their own countries and eliminate those conflicts that have afflicted them for years. The emergence of a united, democratic and non-racist South Africa will be of fundamental importance for stability in countries such as Angola and Mozambique where a decades-long legacy of pain and death was left by those same forces which today oppose change in South Africa.

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

We appreciate and support the progress that has been made in the talks between the various movements representing the South African people and the Government of South Africa. We believe that conditions now exist for peaceful change and that it can be achieved by perseverance and good will. We must not forget that no effort will have been in vain if, in the end, all following the same road, we are able to create a South Africa such as that described in the "Freedom Charter" approved at Kliptown in 1955 by representatives of all races in the country.

The Freedom Charter states:

"That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no Government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people. ... The people shall govern. ... All national groups shall have equal rights. ... The people shall share the country's wealth. ... The land shall be shared among those who work it. ... All shall be equal before the law. ... The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened. ... There shall be houses, security and comfort. ... There shall be peace and friendship." (Official Records, Tenth Session, Supplement No. 14 (A/2953), para. 295)

Mr. McLEAN (Canada): Last year I opened my statement in this debate by hailing an extraordinary time, a time of great promise for South Africa and its people. This year, as we meet again to consider the situation in South Africa, we do so with mixed emotions. The historic gains achieved since February 1990 continue to inspire confidence and hope - but now there is also real concern. There have been too many recent disappointments to ignore. The curse of political violence seems more intractable than ever.

It will be recalled that the past year began with great promise. Long-awaited multiparty negotiations were launched last December in the

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Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). Some 19 parties agreed on a far-reaching declaration of principles and established a series of working groups for detailed negotiations.

Prospects for a new beginning seemed even brighter by March. In a referendum, white South Africans voted overwhelmingly - with a 68 per cent majority and an 85 per cent turnout - for reform through negotiation. Apartheid, we believed, was finally buried by the descendants of its authors.

Fresh from this dramatic victory, President de Klerk made an unprecedented visit to Nigeria, Africa's largest nation, currently holding the chairmanship of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Also in April, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Barbara McDougall, went to South Africa on the first official ministerial visit in three decades. Truly the future beckoned.

When CODESA reconvened in May, agreement on transitional arrangements was within reach. Most regrettably, however, the conference was allowed to fail over the modest gap between a two-thirds and a three-quarters majority in favour of adopting certain human rights provisions in the new constitution.

This set-back was promptly followed by an upsurge of political violence, climaxing in the horrific massacres at Boipatong and Bisho. The African National Congress (ANC) and eight like-minded parties broke off contact with the Government, bilaterally and in CODESA, for its failure to act effectively against the violence. While still committed to negotiations, the ANC set conditions for its return. The appalling violence ground on, seemingly out of control.

Since September there have been signs of recovery. Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk held a summit meeting. Some 150 of the remaining political prisoners have been released. Above all, international observers have been

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deployed by the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the OAU, to provide much-needed assistance in implementing last year's National Peace Accord on the ground. But today all is not well - all is not well by any means. The Inkatha Freedom Party has pulled out of the negotiations. Fresh scandals have erupted relating to the activities of the security forces. Confidence-building measures are necessary.

Canada has not remained indifferent to these developments. On the contrary, we have worked actively for progress through a range of what we believe are complementary approaches.

We continue to sustain the pressure for further change. As Minister McDougall made clear while in South Africa in April, Canada will maintain its remaining sanctions until the Commonwealth criteria for lifting them are fulfilled. Trade and investment sanctions in particular will remain in place until appropriate transitional mechanisms have been agreed which would enable all the parties to participate fully and effectively in negotiations. We had hoped that by now this would already have been achieved.

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At the same time, we support practical initiatives - initiatives to help bring about an end to political violence. Canada is proud to provide, for example, two police experts to the Commonwealth observer team in South Africa. We are also funding a major two-year study on how the police system can be reformed to restore confidence, to make it more responsive to the needs of a democratic society - that new society that it must serve.

Obviously, it is not for Canada to take sides with any of the negotiating parties, but Canada has not hesitated to address the need for a level playing-field, improved trust and informed choices in the negotiations. Our Dialogue Fund, which we believe has been effective, and which has now been extended to 1994, continues to support a range of initiatives with an impact often far beyond the modest amount of money that is available. These initiatives include support for the development of a Bill of Rights and research on the role of the churches in national reconciliation.

Looking towards healing the legacy of apartheid, Canadian assistance to South Africa has been focused primarily on human-resource development. Increasingly we are directing that assistance to specific high-priority areas, where Canadian expertise can match South African needs. Last March Prime Minister Mulroney announced a $5 million programme to strengthen the capacity of groups involved in the negotiating process to develop their own strategies in key sectors, such as education, economics and public administration. A large component of training in these sectors is included, building on our experience in training South Africans over the past six years.

As I said in a speech to this Assembly last year, the Parliamentary Committee on Development and Human Rights, which I chair, has been studying

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Canada's relations with a post-apartheid southern Africa. Its report in June provided Canada's Government and public at large with an overview of the challenge of nourishing the roots of democracy in a region still suffering from the lasting after-effects of apartheid. My Committee urged that the southern Africa region remain a priority in Canadian foreign policy, with assistance focused on three areas: economic development, growth in human-resource capacity and the reinforcement of a civil society.

Canada welcomes the highly constructive manner in which the United Nations has increased its involvement in South Africa this year. The response of the Security Council and the Secretary-General to the upsurge of political violence last summer has given the problem the attention it deserves. The presence of the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa, supported by the teams from the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organization of African Unity, has helped impress on potential perpetrators the seriousness with which the whole world views violent threats to the process of negotiated change. We also welcome the Secretary-General's appointment of Mr. Dayal as his Special Envoy, and we urge Mr. Dayal to explore further ways in which the United Nations, working with the National Peace Accord structures, could contribute to a peaceful, democratic transition.

Behind the headlines, as my colleagues know, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is continuing to promote the healing of society through the repatriation of exiles. The United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa is helping to educate former exiles in-country. Both have Canadian support.

Some activities of United Nations agencies, however, need updating. One example is the International Labour Organisation's annual apartheid report,

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which still calls for comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Happily, other agencies are preparing to provide development assistance inside South Africa when the appropriate moment comes, as foreshadowed in last year's consensus omnibus resolution. In the mean time I suggest that at the forty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly we should work to expand the scope of the consensus in the draft resolutions before us.

South Africa stands at a crossroads. In one direction lies violence and mayhem, unleashed in the name of one hallowed principle or another; in the other direction lies the difficult and frustrating search for a peaceful solution through negotiation.

The strides taken since February 1990 have been truly historic, and the world has recognized them as such. But some of these gains have been threatened, and recently even reversed, because, contrary to the fondest hopes of most of us in this Hall, the steps needed to make them genuinely irreversible have not yet been taken. The world is watching. The choices that South Africans make in the months ahead will determine its response.

Canada calls on all parties to restart the negotiations. South Africans must know better than anyone else that there is no other way. The Mandela-de Klerk summit is encouraging; so too are some recent developments in Conservative and Pan Africanist ranks. A similar move by Inkatha is awaited. One way to develop consensus in the delicate area of human rights would be through a joint agreement that South Africa accede to the International Covenants on human rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

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Canada once again calls on the Government of South Africa to shoulder its special responsibility for law and order. We ask it to redouble its efforts to ensure effective and impartial action by the security forces to end political violence.

We also call on the Government of South Africa to act decisively to eliminate the remnants of apartheid, foremost among which must surely be the continued existence of the homelands. We believe that advocates of federalism do their cause no good by seeking to link it with the discredited homelands. Recent massacres and scandals only highlight the need for their reincorporation into the Republic. Any doubt that this is what their people want would be quickly dispelled by a referendum.

Above all, we look for the political will and the statesmanship that must come from all sides. This will make possible a transitional administration inspiring general confidence across the community. This would be the key to unlock many doors - from sanctions to United Nations aid and renewed participation here in this Assembly.

South Africa is entitled to seek the world's help in healing the wounds of apartheid. But, by the same token, the international community is entitled to expect South Africans to pull together in addressing their own problems. With so many urgent crises around the world, it is only fair that attention and resources should go where they can do the most good. We believe that South Africans are a uniquely resilient people, who have overcome many challenges in the past. Canada has no doubt that they will again rise to the occasion.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): The General Assembly's debate on the question of apartheid comes at a critical moment in the history of South Africa, at a time when we can still hope to see an egalitarian, non-racial and multi-party democracy emerge soon in that country. This hope has been nurtured in recent years by the many initiatives taken to dismantle the reprehensible system of apartheid. The release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the recognition of political parties and the repeal of laws underpinning apartheid are undeniably all extremely heartening events. The international community itself has played a very important role in the new direction taken by the Republic of South Africa, by making an effective contribution to the fostering of dialogue aimed at putting in place a fully representative government and redressing the wrongs and privations suffered by the majority of South Africans for many decades now.

These positive dvelopments, which bear witness to the farsightedness and wisdom of the South African political leaders, resulted last December in the commencement of constitutional talks in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), whose work heralds the coming of a democratic, united and non-racial society in accordance with the wishes of the international community as expressed in the relevant decisions of the United Nations General Assembly.

We feel that the process put in place is irreversible. The 19 participants in the constitutional talks committed themselves in their historic Declaration of Intent to establish a South Africa both united and free from apartheid, and also to abide by certain fundamental principles which would underly implementation of the phase of transition to a multiracial society. Similarly, the referendum held on 17 March 1991 clearly showed that

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the vast majority of white South Africans supported the process. That means the international community can consider it a highly significant sign of progress, indicating the desire of the entire population of South Africa to carry through change by discussion and dialogue in a climate of peace and concord.

It is nevertheless regrettable that despite these important events the negotiations that have reached quite an advanced stage were suspended, chiefly because of the outbreak of political violence, which continues to have a damaging effect on the future of the country as well as on its social, ethnic and economic fabric.

Aware of the real danger that violence can hold out for the future of the South African people, the Secretary-General of the United Nations drew the Security Council's attention to the possibly grave consequences of the situation and recommended certain measures, such as the despatch of a Special Envoy to use his good offices, and of a large team of observers. It was in that context that the Security Council adopted resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992), thereby demonstrating a firm and unambiguous position, urging all the parties to bring violence to an end and to resume their negotiations as soon as possible, so as to effect an early transition to a non-racial democracy.

The adoption of the two resolutions was immediately followed by the despatch of a team of observers to South Africa to work in coordination with those structures established under the National Peace Agreement. Supported in its task by observers from other regional organizations such as the European Community and the Commonwealth, the mission's main task was to contain the potential hotbeds of violence and ensure that mass demonstrations went off

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peacefully. It made commendable efforts in that direction and helped greatly in stabilizing the situation.

Likewise the special advisers sent by our Secretary-General following the suspension of the CODESA talks fully deserve our praise for their efforts to convince the South African Government and opposition of the need to establish peace and to respect the commitments entered into and promptly resume the beneficial dialogue that had been going on for the preceding year.*

We call on all South African parties to ensure that reason prevails and to resume as soon as possible their negotiations with sincerity and in good faith. We would also urge them to refrain from any action that might further jeopardize the prospects for an equitable settlement of the problem of South Africa.

Despite the difficulties encountered, we still cherish the hope that CODESA will soon resume its work. Moreover, there have been several recent encouraging events on the South African political scene, such as the meeting of 26 September 1992 between Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela. We encourage such contacts between the South African leaders as we are convinced of the need to promote dialogue and mutual trust, which are the only way of removing the obstacles to the resumption of negotiations on major constitutional issues and of hastening the emergence of a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa.

The Kingdom of Morocco hopes that the Government in power and the Opposition, aware as they are of the absence of any realistic alternative to dialogue and negotiation, will persevere in their efforts to identify common

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* Mr Al-Haddad (Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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ground and a common approach both for the transitional phase and for the establishment of a new South African State: there can be no question that they alone can determine the form of the society and government they aspire to.

Mr. SHAHEED (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): For more than four decades, the United Nations has mobilized all its capabilities in the drive to eliminate racial discrimination and all that it represents in terms of flagrant violation of human rights and human dignity. Few issues have required so much attention on the part of the United Nations. This is due to the fact that apartheid is the worst insult and the most heinous negation of human dignity. Consequently, our Organization has reiterated, on many occasions, that apartheid, being a crime against humanity, cannot be reformed but must be eradicated.

About three years ago, the General Assembly unanimously adopted the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. In adopting that Declaration, the international community, for the first time, spoke with one tongue and condemned the abhorrent apartheid system. It is abundantly clear that, since that time, the Government of South Africa has failed to fully set in operation the process that could lead to the establishment of a democratic non-racial system as stipulated in the Declaration. Although some racist laws have been repealed, the structures of apartheid and the institutions that have perpetrated the institutionalized form of social domination still exist.

The persistence of the Pretoria Government in escalating the fratricidal strife between the aboriginal inhabitants and its involvement in many of the resultant massacres underscore the fact that this is an undeclared war waged by the racist regime against those aboriginal inhabitants with the aim of undermining the movement towards a democratic non-racial South Africa.

In its 1992 report, Amnesty International states that there is incontrovertible evidence that units of the police, army and the special

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forces have been involved in political assassinations and in helping the perpetrators of such actions. The report also states that the security forces have taken sides with a certain party against the African National Congress.

In view of the continuous violence sponsored by the Government of South Africa, the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in Dakar this year has called upon the Security Council to face up to this grave situation. The Council adopted resolution 765 (1992), in which it emphasized the responsibility of the South African authorities to take all necessary measures to stop immediately the violence and to bring those responsible to justice.

We appeal to the struggling African majority to stand united and to intensify its efforts to confront, as a united front, the machinations of the Pretoria regime, which is stocking up the violence with the aim of weakening the negotiating position of the African majority.

We also call upon the South African Government immediately to put an end to this wave of violence which they are trying to use to deal a severe blow to the African majority and their just cause.

The continued existence of the bantustan system which the Government of South Africa is trying to entrench shows that Pretoria's hidden intentions are completely different than the declared good intentions of that regime and contradict its claims that it is moving towards the elimination of the apartheid system. This became amply clear when the Ciskei forces, on 7 September 1992, opened fire on the Africans who wanted to march on the capital of the bantustan to ask for the dismantling of the 10 bantustans, which were established by the Government of South Africa in 1960 as independent States with the aim of isolating the African majority in remote

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areas of the country and, thereby, separating them from the white minority. The massacre that took place claimed the lives of at least 28 Africans.

In view of all this, it will be an exercise in self-deception to believe that the situation in South Africa indicates an imminent end to apartheid. The African majority will have to make many more sacrifices if it is to achieve its legitimate goals. Cosmetic changes to the apartheid regime are designed only to break the international isolation of the regime. As soon as de Klerk declared that he intended to repeal the apartheid laws, some States hastened to lift sanctions in breach of the consensus United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989. The changes that have taken place are still skin deep and have not reached the point where they would be irrevocable.

Therefore, we cannot but voice our concern over the increasing tendency to prematurely lift sanctions, as this can only ease the pressure on South Africa whereas it has been demonstrated that it is only pressure that can ensure the elimination of apartheid both legally and in practical terms and make it possible to establish a non-racial democratic society in South Africa.

In their Tenth Summit Meeting in Jakarta, in September 1992, the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries noted with regret that some countries have taken unilateral measures to lift sanctions and stated that such action went beyond the common position agreed upon by the international community on phased liftings of sanctions. They cautioned against any premature restoration of full-fledged economic and political relations with the Pretoria regime and underscored the need for cohesion and concerted action by the international community so that the necessary pressures may continue to be exerted on South Africa until an irreversible stage is reached in the process of negotiation which aims at the establishment of a democratic and

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non-racial South Africa. In this context, the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries voiced the conviction that the emplacement of an interim government/transitional authority charged with the supervision of the desired transition to democratic rule, including the holding of free and fair elections under universal adult suffrage on a common voters' roll, will mark the genuine start of irreversible movement towards the irreversible ending of apartheid. They emphasized that only then can the international community enter into a constructive relationship with the authorities of a South Africa that will have opted for the path towards a truly democratic society.

The Heads of State or Government also called for strict observance of the arms embargo against South Africa. They condemned any collaboration with South Africa in the military and nuclear fields that is contrary to the provisions of the United Nations arms and oil embargoes. They noted in particular that the joint venture between Israel and South Africa is conclusive proof that Israel breaches the mandatory arms embargo and demanded that Israel cease such activities forthwith.

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In this connection, the Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid (A/47/22) whose mandate relates to apartheid in South Africa and its international repercussions, states that, at the request of the General Assembly, the Committee has continued to review the developments of the ongoing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, especially in the military and nuclear fields, and that it continues to report annually on that collaboration. The report adds that the Committee views this ongoing collaboration from the standpoint of its effect on the concerted international efforts aimed at the total eradication of apartheid and support for the establishment of a united non-racial South Africa. The Report reviews the ongoing collaboration between Israel and South Africa in all its aspects, especially in the military and nuclear fields, and notes that this collaboration, which is in violation of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977), undermines international solidarity against apartheid. Therefore, the Special Committee against Apartheid, in its report, urges the international community, and particularly the Security Council, to take effective action to end Israel's violations of these two Security Council resolutions.

The Commission on Human Rights adopted a rescluton at its forty-eighth session on 28 February 1992, on the destructive effects of political, military, economic and other assistance to the apartheid regime in the area of human rights. Operative paragraph 3 of that resolution condemns the ongoing collaboration by a number of States, including Israel, with South Africa in the nuclear field and calls upon those States immediately to end such

(Mr. Shaheed, Syrian Arab Republic)

collaboration and to stop supplying South Africa with the nuclear equipment and technology that enable it to develop a military nuclear capability.

The structures of apartheid are still intact and in place. The purpose of the Declaration namely that South Africa should become a united democratic and non-racial country is still unattainable. The African majority is still disfranchised. It is therefore incumbent upon the international community to keep all the present measures against the apartheid regime in place until changes in that country become irreversible. It would seem that the Government of South Africa is going to continue to drag its feet with regard to the dismantling of the racist regime and the achievement of accommodation with the African majority while it works for breaking out of the international isolation in which it finds itself.

In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm my country's position; the Syrian Arab Republic stands firmly side by side with the African majority in its just cause against apartheid.

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): My delegation is pleased to participate once again in the Assembly's deliberations on the issue of apartheid. We have been doing so because we strongly believe that this constitutes a concrete contribution to the ongoing collective efforts aimed at assisting the people of South Africa in their long and dedicated struggle for justice, equality, peace and democracy in their country.

I wish at the present juncture to commend the Secretary-General and the Special Committee against Apartheid for their illustrative reports on this subject-matter. Their expert assessments have provided us with the necessary

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

input on the situation in South Africa and on the progress made in the struggle against apartheid.

As we have pointed out on a number of occasions, southern Africa is a region struggling to reaffirm its political, economic and social identity. For decades now our region has been suffering from the long-term consequences of war, which in one way or another has its root-causes in the policies of apartheid.

Since the adoption by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session, three years ago, of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, a number of encouraging developments have taken place in South Africa. In this connection, my delegation wishes to highlight the convening since the last session of the General Assembly of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I) in December 1991. In a country characterized by nearly five decades of officially institutionalized racial segregation, CODESA I and the signing of the National Peace Accord in September 1991 constituted an important landmark in the efforts towards the elimination of apartheid. This session culminated in the adoption of a Declaration of Intent, committing the 19 participants to work for the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. In addition, five different groups were set up in order to work on the outstanding issues on the agenda.

Six months ago we witnessed the convening of the second plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, otherwise known as CODESA II. It is worth noting that despite political differences existing between the parties to this process, some progress was achieved during the

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

negotiations. Consensus was reached on a number of concrete issues, such as the road to the transition to democracy, the issue of the reincorporation of the so-called independent homelands and the control of the security forces. For those reasons, my delegation believes that the process of negotiation undertaken in CODESA I and II have contributed to the achievement of tangible progress in the struggle against apartheid. The progress achieved under CODESA has underlined the importance of negotiations to find a political settlement in that country.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

It is therefore regrettable that the progress so far achieved within the CODESA framework has been seriously jeopardized because of the outbreak of unprecedented levels of violence in South Africa, especially the massacres in Boipatong in June 1992 and in Ciskei in September 1992.

The recurrence of violence serves only the interests of those forces in South Africa which for so long have been opposed to democratic transformation in that country. The continuation of violence, which has already claimed the lives of thousands of innocent people and caused destruction to property, will serve only to perpetuate the existence of apartheid, a system bent on destruction, irrationality and hatred among people.

In the interests of all peoples of the region we reiterate our appeal to all parties in that country to put aside their differences and refrain from taking actions which might further exacerbate the already volatile situation and roll back the negotiation process already initiated. We also call upon the South African authorities to assume their responsibilities in order effectively to address the issue of violence by bringing all the culprits to justice. We sincerely hope that good sense and a spirit of conciliation will prevail, so that negotiations can finally resume in order to deal with the outstanding issues for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

We note the contacts between the African National Congress (ANC) leadership and the South African Government, following the suspension of the negotiations within this framework. In this regard my delegation commends the concrete efforts so far made in order to address the outbreak of violence, in particular, the convening of a high-level meeting and the signing of the Record of Understanding between the the ANC leadership and the South African Government on 26 September 1992. My delegation is encouraged to note that

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

since this important meeting, some 150 political prisoners have been released, and pledges have been made to guarantee an early release for the remaining political prisoners. We believe that this important step should be complemented by similar initiatives at the national level and should involve all parties so as to ensure an early resumption of the talks.

The signing of the National Peace Accord and the experiences of CODESA have demonstrated that goodwill and political commitment by the parties concerned can effectively contribute to finding answers to challenges the solution of which had not been possible when negotiations did not exist.

As correctly stated in the report of the Secretary-General

"The role of the international community in the establishment of a democratic, non-racial South Africa, can, of course, only be complementary to those of the various political groups in the country." (A/47/574, para. 11)

We also agree that the primary responsibility for the achievement of harmony in South Africa rests upon the South Africans themselves. The role and responsibility of the international community is to facilitate that process by providing needed support. In this regard, my delegation welcomes the adoption by the Security Council of resolutions 765 (1992) on 16 July 1992 and 772 (1992) on 17 August 1992. The adoption of these resolutions has enabled the Secretary-General, inter-alia, to appoint his Special Representative in South Africa, as well as to dispatch to that country a team of United Nations observers which, by the end of last month, numbered more than 40. My delegation is happy to note, from the same report, that the presence of these observers has had

"an overall salutary effect on the political situation during that period." (A/47/574, para. 7)

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

We believe that the presence of additional observers from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Commonwealth and the European Community will further strengthen the climate of confidence put in place by the United Nations personnel and will contribute to the creation of a climate conducive to an early resumption of negotiations in South Africa.

In view of the direct relationship between the war situation in Mozambique and the policies of apartheid in our region we have developed in the last few years a tradition of informing this body of the developments taking place in my country. It is my intention briefly to update the Assembly today on that matter.

As members are aware a General Peace Agreement was signed on 4 October 1992 in Rome. The Agreement defines as its overall objectives the establishment of a lasting peace and effective democracy in Mozambique. In pursuance of its key provisions, a general cease-fire has been in effect since 15 October. It coincided with the arrival in Mozambique of the first elements of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMO), in compliance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 782 (1992), unamimously adopted on 13 October 1992.

I am pleased to convey to members that the first results of the work currently undertaken by the United Nations and the parties concerned has begun to yield positive results. This is particularly relevant with regard to the establishment on 3 November 1992, under the chairmanship of the United Nations, of the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission (CSC), the monitoring body which will oversee the overall implementation of the provisions of the General Peace Agreement; the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force (CCFADM); the Cease-fire Commission (CCF); and the Reintegration Commission (CORE).

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

The establishment of these Commissions is of paramount importance for the normal functioning of the Rome Agreement.

As for the cease-fire, despite difficulties encountered in the initial phase of the process, overall it might be said that it has been holding. Three days ago, following an extraordinary meeting of the Cease-fire Commission, the Commander of the United Nations military observers announced that both parties had committed themselves to instruct their respective military commanders not to allow any unauthorized movement of their forces from current positions. At the same time it was indicated that some progress had also been made regarding the agreement on assembly points. These encouraging steps are taken in full compliance with the provisions of Protocol VI, on the cease-fire, and are vital for the overall implementation of the Rome Agreement.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

In addition to the above-mentioned progress, considerable movement of people and goods has been taking place in the countryside. Remote areas previously of difficult access are gradually becoming easily accessible. This state of affairs brings additional humanitarian challenges with respect to assisting the people in need. In this connection, I wish to reiterate my Government's appreciation to the international community for the generous support it has been extending to our people.

May I take this opportunity to call on all States Members of the United Nations to participate fully and actively in the forthcoming Donors' Conference which will take place on 15 and 16 December 1992 in Rome, under the sponsorship of the Italian Government, in accordance with the provisions of Protocol VII of the General Peace Agreement. The Conference is intended to mobilize international support in order to finance the main challenges facing Mozambique following the signing of the Rome Agreement, namely, the electoral process, emergency programmes, the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons, and the reintegration of demobilized soldiers.

At the present stage, we look forward to the forthcoming decision by the Security Council on the full strength and composition of the team that will be deployed in Mozambique. The decision by the Council will be of primary importance to our country and people.

In conclusion, let me reiterate our firm conviction on the capacity of the peoples of the southern African region to tackle the challenges facing us today. Our region is resourceful enough to overcome the destructive consequences of apartheid and of natural calamities, which for so long have impeded the normalization of fraternal cooperation and economic development among the countries in the region. We have given sound proof of our firm

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

commitment to these goals, as illustrated, inter alia, by the recent establishment of the South African Development Community, following twelve years of fruitful experience among the 10 members of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference.

Our efforts and those of the international community will be fully successful only with the total eradication of apartheid, the creation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa and its incorporation in the family of peace-loving nations of the world.

Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): It is a mark of our forgiving nature, but above all that of the people of South Africa, who over the decades were abused and injured and who suffered the pain and humiliation of apartheid, that no sooner had the South African Government announced its intention to abolish apartheid - even before fundamental and tangible changes had been put in place - than the international community was willing to accept South Africa into its fold. However, this remarkable forgiving nature of ours would have been well justified had the South African Government reciprocated the faith and trust reposed in it by the international community and accelerated the process of dismantling apartheid in a less painful manner.

Indeed, some changes have taken place in South Africa: most of the apartheid laws, which were once said to constitute petty apartheid, have been abrogated; political exiles have been allowed to return to their homeland; Mr. Nelson Mandela has been released after more than a quarter of a century of his life wasted. Yes, all these changes have been taking place in South Africa. However, the gravamen of the charges that were made against the apartheid regime in its heyday remains largely constant.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

The majority of South Africans are still dispossessed. Their economic and social conditions have not much improved, nor have those who were uprooted from their homelands been allowed to return. Violent killings have become all too rampant. In short, the fundamental objectives envisaged in the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, and the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, are yet to be achieved.

It will be recalled that the Declaration placed heavy emphasis on the need for the South African regime to carry out specific measures to create a climate conducive to negotiations. These measures include, inter alia, the release of political prisoners. My delegation was therefore encouraged by the recent understanding reached between the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, and Mr. F. W. de Klerk, calling for the release of all political prisoners to be completed before 1 November 1992.

Other positive measures undertaken include the abrogation of the ban on political organizations and the repeal of the remaining apartheid legislation; but despite these changes, the reality of the South African situation today is that a minority regime unrepresentative of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa continues to govern that country. The majority of the South African people have no say in the running of the affairs of their country, nor can Mr. Mandela himself participate in any electoral process in the country; and lately, and more importantly, there has been an escalation of violence resulting in massacres and other brutal killings. Today, Boipatong and Bisho have become metaphors of the continuing struggle against apartheid. My delegation believes that it remains the responsibility of the South African Government to bring such violence and massive loss of human life to an end.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

The inability on the part of the South African regime to curb such violence must carry with it the blame of doubtful intentions.

We are of the opinion that the South African regime has yet to demonstrate good faith with respect to encouraging peaceful dialogue. Recent revelations regarding the existence of the Buffalo Battalion 32 and Koevoets and the use of mercenaries and death squads have put a question mark over the true intentions of the regime and its insistence that the present escalation of violence is black-on-black.

The Sierra Leone delegation believes that for the process of dismantling apartheid to be considered irreversible, it is essential that legislation that continues to restrict the possibilities for free and peaceful political activity be removed from the statute books. Furthermore, the so-called independent Bantustans should be reincorporated into a united South Africa for the democratic process to be considered genuine.

The Sierra Leone delegation also believes that, in order to move forward with change, the installation of a transitional Government is essential. This arrangement will ensure a democratic electoral process with a trouble-free transition as called for by the United Nations Declaration.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierre Leone)

In order to bring this about, the Sierre Leone delegation is of the view that phased sanctions against the South African regime should continue to be in place so as to maintain pressure on that regime.

Finally, we wish to express our appreciation to those countries, organizations and individuals that have continued to contribute generously to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and would like to appeal to all Members of the United Nations to continue to support the Fund, which remains an important lifeline to the victims of apartheid and also ensures that such victims have access to the rule of law in defending themselves in court.

The Sierre Leone delegation would like to echo the plea by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid that the hopes and spirit of the young generation in South Africa that had taken on the mantle of resisting apartheid should be rekindled by providing it with the culture, education and training for future employment.

In conclusion, the Sierre Leone delegation wishes to pay tribute to the members of the Special Commmittee against Apartheid, under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, whose untiring efforts, which we very much admire and appreciate, have undoubtedly contributed immeasurably to the eradication of apartheid in South Africa.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): The close historical, cultural, economic and political ties that link Brazil to the African continent, and to southern Africa in particular, make the question of apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa an issue of particular concern to the people and the Government of Brazil. Having as its foundation a harmonious blend of cultures and races, Brazilian society repudiates any form of discrimination

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

and considers racism a crime of the utmost gravity. For this reason, we abhor apartheid and express our firm solidarity with its victims.

Brazil continues to follow with great attention the political process in South Africa. The new stage reached with the creation of a negotiating framework in December 1991 was received with satisfaction by the international community. However, the initial progress made at the first session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I) did not translate into decisive advances at CODESA II, which ended in a stalemate on some crucial points. At the same time, violence has continued to plague South Africa, further aggravating the lack of trust among the main political actors. Recent developments in that country once again underscored the fragility of the political process and the need for a strong political will and sense of tolerance among the actors involved.

While Brazil welcomes the important steps taken by the South African authorities by repealing some of the major legislative pillars of apartheid and ensuring greater political freedom, apartheid will truly have been eliminated only when a new constitution has been adopted and a new government has been installed as a result of free and fair elections, leading to the achievement of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Thus, notwithstanding the encouraging progress, much still remains to be done in South Africa. There are important obstacles hindering change, and among them the problem of political violence is of paramount importance.

In recent months, the world has watched, with increasing apprehension, bloody outbursts of political violence in South Africa. The recollection of the Boipatong massacre and of the deliberate killing of demonstrators in Ciskei were disturbing not only because of the tragic loss of lives but also

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

because it confirmed that the continued failure to contain violence in South Africa can endanger the process of political transition.

Although the role of the international community in the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa can only be complementary to that of the South Africans themselves, the United Nations and its Member States must continue to search for creative ways to assist the people of that country.

Brazil welcomed the fact that, after many years, the political situation in South Africa was again debated in the Security Council, on the initiative of the Organization of African Unity and the African Group in New York. It was particularly timely that on that occasion the Council was able to benefit from the presence of Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress.

We expressed our full support for Security Council resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992), as well as for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to South Africa and the United Nations observer mission in South Africa. We call upon the South African Government and all other parties in South Africa to cooperate fully with the Special Representative and the observer mission, in order to maintain momentum in the process of transition through dialogue and negotiation.

Finally, Brazil reiterates its support for the important role of the Special Committee against Apartheid in coordinating the efforts of the United Nations and the international community in monitoring and assessing the political situation in South Africa. In this respect, my Government endorses the Committee's conclusions and recommendations, in which, inter alia, the international community is called upon:

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

"to support the process in South Africa through a phased application of appropriate measures with regard to the South African authorities, as warranted by ongoing developments, and, within the context of the need to respond appropriately to them, to review existing restrictive measures as warranted by positive developments, such as agreement by the parties on transitional arrangements, including the election of a constitution-meeting structure, and agreement on a new, non-racial and democratic constitution". (A/47/22, para. 181 (1))

As stated by my delegation at the meetings of the Security Council convened last July to debate the question of South Africa, each day lost in the effort to build a democratic, non-racial society in a united South Africa is a day lost for justice and for human rights. Each day lost in the dismantling of apartheid is a day lost in the strengthening of international security.

In conclusion, I would like to refer to the hope which has been expressed repeatedly by the countries of the zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic that they will be able to welcome in the near future, a non-racial, democratic South Africa into the community of South Atlantic States.

It is the sincere hope of the Government and the people of Brazil that the courageous people of South Africa and its responsible leadership may achieve the long-awaited reconciliation and reconstruction of its society in a peaceful and harmonious way at the earliest possible time.

Mr. KHANDOGY (Ukraine): Since the General Assembly considered this item last year we have witnessed important developments in South Africa as part of that country's move towards a democratic and non-racial society. Some of those developments gave rise to hope and expectations; others to

(Mr. Khandogy, Ukraine)

disappointment and to continued concern over the viability of those changes. Ukraine, like the majority of the international community, strongly supported the launching, in December 1991, of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) as the proper vehicle for creating a negotiating framework aimed at the peaceful removal of the policy and practices of apartheid in that country.

(Mr. Khandogy, Ukraine)

Unfortunately, however, failure to reach agreement on a number of issues related to the constitution-making process created deadlock in the negotiations, and this came as a serious setback to the prospects for an early political settlement in South Africa. In the view of the Ukrainian delegation, developments since May 1992 have demonstrated that the political environment in that country is fragile and vulnerable and that a sustained process designed to achieve a peaceful, negotiated solution needs not only political will and tolerance on the part of the leaders involved in the negotiations but also a climate of domestic peace in South African society as a whole.

Back in 1989 this interrelationship was recognized by the General Assembly in the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa, which called for negotiations

> "in an atmosphere which, by mutual agreement between the liberation movements and the South African regime, would be free of violence".
>
> (resolution S-16/1, annex, para. 8)

Ukraine shares the view, expressed by the Secretary-General in his third progress report on the implementation of the Declaration, that

> "the escalating violence in South Africa, which is causing heavy losses of human life, its consequences for the negotiating process and its negative impact on the economy remain a cause of grave concern".
>
> (A/47/574, annex I, para. 18)

The Boipatong and Ciskei massacres shocked the international community and highlighted the necessity of its urgent involvement to help contain the violence and bring it to an end.

(Mr. Khandogy, Ukraine)

It is evident that the creation of an atmosphere free of violence would not exhaust the range of problems that require the attention of the international community. Urgent measures are necessary to redress socio-economic inequalities in South Africa, which could undermine peaceful and stable development through a transition period and beyond.

Now, as the socio-economic dimensions of South Africa's transition are moving into focus, my delegation would like to commend the Special Committee against Apartheid, under the able chairmanship of Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, and the Centre against Apartheid for their readiness, expressed in the annual report of the Committee (A/47/22) to concentrate their attention on the requirements of the disadvantaged sectors of South African society and to promote appropriate and coordinated responses from the international community.

Ukraine fully supports the establishment in South Africa of an economic negotiating forum that would seek an accord between Government, business and labour. It is hoped that the forum will address, inter alia, the problem of resetting economic priorities with a view to correcting socio-economic imbalances engendered by decades of apartheid and starting an economic growth process capable of sustaining a significant expansion of services, human-resources development and economic participation.

Unfulfilled expectations of various segments of the South African population in the areas of political, economic, social and human rights may threaten to exacerbate further the situation in that country. We believe that in these circumstances any delay in bringing about a political settlement is fraught with the danger of further aggravation of the situation.

(Mr. Khandogy, Ukraine)

The delegation of Ukraine is convinced that South Africa urgently needs an interim government of national unity to prepare for elections to a constitution-making body and to administer the country until a new government has been elected on the basis of an agreed democratic and non-racial constitution. We are confident that common sense will prevail and that the parties will be able to reach the consensus necessary for a new South Africa to emerge.

In this context, my delegation finds it difficult to support the view that apartheid is a closed chapter in the history of South Africa. In our opinion, even after the adoption of a new constitution the dismantling of a system that is so deeply rooted in the structure and everyday life of that country will not be accomplished without difficulties and pain. The legacy of apartheid will be complex and will take many years to overcome.

It is therefore incumbent upon the General Assembly to reaffirm its support for the total elimination of apartheid by peaceful means and for the efforts of the South African people to build together a non-racial and democratic society. It is also important that the international community reaffirm the principles and goals envisaged in the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, which is contained in the annex to resolution S-16/1 of 14 December 1989.

The delegation of Ukraine welcomes relevant decisions of the Security Council and the measures taken by the Secretary-General, including the deployment of United Nations observers, to assist the process of strengthening the structures set up in South Africa under the National Peace Accord. We

(Mr. Khandogy, Ukraine)

consider it important that the international community, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992), maintain the existing measures imposed by the Security Council for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid in South Africa.

In conclusion, we should like to emphasize that the role of the international community in the establishment of a democratic, non-racial South Africa can only be complementary to the efforts of the various political groups in the country, whose participation, goodwill and political courage are essential for success. For its part, the United Nations should continue to assist the people of South Africa as a whole to attain the goals that they have set for themselves and to which the General Assembly committed itself in its 1989 Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

Mr. GHAFOORZAI (Afghanistan): This discussion of the loathsome policy of apartheid is taking place at a crucial point in the policy's history. Indeed, it is the hope and aspiration of the delegation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan that this dreadful practice will come to an end. For us, the sweeping changes that have occurred in South Africa are both a source of hope and a reason for reservation.

While we applaud the developments that South Africa witnessed last year - including the establishment of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and the positive Declaration that resulted from those talks, in which the participants committed themselves to the creation of a united and multiracial society in South Africa - we note with dismay and regret the violence that has taken place in various townships and has led to the suspension of the CODESA process.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

Termination of the inhuman policy of apartheid through negotiation and peaceful means as proposed by President de Klerk should be encouraged and supported by the world community. The referendum among white voters in South Africa, in accepting the proposals for ending apartheid, is a very promising step. However, given the nature of apartheid and the sufferings of the black majority of South Africa, there should be no hesitation or delay on the part of the ruling white minority in bringing about a speedy and effective end to their shameful past. This they have not done, however. Instead, elements within or outside the Government of South Africa have tried to hamper the progress of CODESA. Unchecked and deliberate massacres are taking place in black townships, of which the recent killings in Boipatong are a vivid and hideous example. The international community's outrage and concern about these mass killings is documented in Security Council resolution 765 (1992).

These massacres were not stopped in time, nor were their origins investigated thoroughly by the Government of South Africa, thus exposing the fact that there still remains an immense task before a just and democratic society can be created in South Africa. In addition to the appalling human losses, the massacres took their toll on the political process initiated by CODESA. The African National Congress (ANC), committed to a policy of non-violence, suspended its talks with the Government in Pretoria, which it viewed as a promoter of violence.

The delegation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan joins the rest of the States members of the United Nations in voicing its profound concern at the situation in South Africa and calls for a total and unequivocal termination of the apartheid policy. We support the United Nations decision to send observer

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

missions to South Africa to work with the local authorities in ending the existing violence and terminating any threat of violence or intimidation, which hampers the process launched by CODESA. We also support the roles of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the European Community (EC) in their capacity as observers in South Africa. My delegation places great emphasis on the role of the United Nations observer mission in places where various parties are not in harmony in solving their problems or where unwelcome elements try to interfere in the peace process for their own gain.

On the question of sanctions imposed on South Africa, the delegation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan firmly believes that until a truly democratic and multiracial government is established in South Africa, where the rights of all its citizens are guaranteed, United Nations sanctions should remain in place. The world should not tolerate the policy of apartheid or any vestiges of it.

The apartheid policy of South Africa has violated human rights and human dignity and destabilized peace and tranquillity in the region for a long time. The Government of South Africa should sincerely join international efforts for the implementation of the CODESA process, which would lead to the removal of this heinous policy from the face of the Earth, thus allowing future generations to live in equality, harmony and peace.

Mr. CORREIA (Angola) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the Angolan delegation): First of all, I would like to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as well as the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for their excellent and brilliant reports, which gave us a clear portrayal of the situation prevailing in South Africa. Allow me to express on behalf of my Government, our total and firm

(Mr. Correia, Angola)

support to the recommendations and conclusions of these reports, as well as other measures that may be taken during this session, whose aim will be the acceleration of the complete dismantling of the apartheid system.

The position of my country regarding the hateful apartheid system is known by all. As a matter of fact, since the first days of its independence, Angola has spared no efforts and sacrifices in order to help the patriotic South Africans. The world, and in particular the United Nations, is witness to the price of this solidarity, in the loss of human lives and material goods.

The enthusiasm shared by us and the international community for the timorous but significant changes registered lately in South Africa was of short duration, for a brutal wave of violence fell upon the already tormented black population of South Africa. This violence still goes on and we are witnessing, without a shadow of doubt, the rebirth of a very volatile political situation, with unforeseeable consequences to South Africa and the southern region of our continent. There is therefore a need for immediate action from the international community so that the process of democratic reforms started in our country will not be derailed.

A matter of deep concern to us is the fact that, as was revealed in the latest international press reports, this wave of violence is the product of illegal activities carried out by South African military intelligence units with the aim of creating instability and intimidation, stalling the process of political change under way in South Africa, and thereby giving rise to the perpetuation of apartheid.

(Mr. Correia, Angola)

It is our opinion that the bitter experience that my own country has gone through in the last 16 years has taught us that conflicts and differences in points of view must be resolved without the need to resort to violence: dialogue is the most effective weapon for the settlement of conflicts. We have listened with particular attention to the preceding statements, which reflected the concerns of all of us at the gravity of the situation and the lack of prospects for a quick solution to the eradication of the apartheid system.

These acts of violence in South Africa, we think, are not isolated occurrences. In our particular case, and quite recently, we witnessed actions carried out by South African elements, whose persistence places at risk the stability and socio-economic progress in the southern region of our continent. After the release of the electoral results of 29 and 30 September, which had been guaranteed by the international community and in particular by the United Nations as having been free and fair, UNITA, in complete disregard of the rules of the democratic game, fabricated a political crisis that has led to the paralysis of the country, culminating in an attempted coup d'état on 30 October 1992.

On the pretext of helping to mediate the crisis, Mr. Pik Botha offered his services to seek, on the one hand to mediate and on the other to incite UNITA to restart the war in Angola, under the cover of delivering humanitarian aid inside Angola. Aircraft proceeding from South Africa are illegally overflying Namibia and supplying the UNITA troops, enabling the latter organization to accomplish the military deployment of its forces throughout Angola, something which would only be possible with the support of South Africa. Once more we urge South Africa to stop its intervention in Angola

(Mr. Correia, Angola)

once and for all and we call for serious and firm measures for the immediate dismantling of the South African special forces, also known as "Buffalo Battalions", "Crowbar" and "Bushmen" units.

I reiterate the firm support of my Government for the ANC, PAC and other patriotic forces of South Africa, with which the dialogue initiated under the auspices of CODESA is being held, and for the efforts to bring about greater intervention in the democratization process under way in South Africa. We call on President de Klerk to order the immediate cessation of all acts of violence, whose victims are defenceless citizens of South Africa; and we reiterate the need to resume an open, frank, and constructive dialogue that will lead to a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. LONGCHAMP (Haiti) (interpretation from French): Haiti attaches great importance to our consideration of item 33, on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa, and is following developments in the situation with interest. We noted the repeal last year of the legal bases of apartheid and the establishment of organizational structures, such as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), to negotiate the modalities of the transitional stages that will lead to a non-racial and democratic society.

The Haitian delegation is delighted to see some glimmers of hope following the decades of sustained struggle waged by the international community to eliminate apartheid. In this connection, we attach great value to the role played by the United Nations system, which is undertakeing specific and constructive initiatives as part of the South African transitional process. We have in mind particularly the agreement on 4 September 1991, reached between the South African authorities and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which has made it possible for thousands of South African exiles to return to their country and has effected the release of some political prisoners.

Nevertheless, we have had to recognize the obvious fact that, if the apartheid system is to be eliminated, legal reforms and declarations of principle, however important they may be, cannot suffice. This system is indeed still alive in South Africa, with all its horrors. In their daily lives, the majority of the population continues to suffer the yoke of the oppressive legislation and discriminatory attitudes that have been imposed upon them for decades.

(Mr. Longchamp, Haiti)

We warmly welcomed the holding, on 20 and 21 December 1991, of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I), during which the 19 parties present adopted a Declaration of Intention which committed them to building a South Africa free from apartheid and to respecting certain fundamental constitutional principles. Nevertheless, despite these encouraging signs and despite the signing of the peace agreement in September 1991, violence - the inevitable concomitant of apartheid - continues to exact a heavy toll among the black population. Proof of this is the massacre at Boipatong during the night of 17 June, which, according to certain witnesses, was supervised by members of the South African police.

In the light of those events, the Haitian delegation cannot but wonder about the future of these negotiations. The atmosphere of violence is certainly not conducive to them. It appears that the South African leaders are not truly ready to give up this system, which has been condemned by the international community as a whole and is an affront to human dignity.

The Haitian delegation believes that, if the objectives laid down in the Declaration on South Africa are to be achieved and if full benefit is to be derived from the progress already made, it is essential that the United Nations play an ever-increasing role in helping the people of South Africa go through this very difficult and painful process.

Similarly, we have reservations about lifting the sanctions against South Africa, as some countries have decided unilaterally to do. In our opinion, lifting the sanctions should not be left to the discretionary decision of each State, because the basis of the Organization's strength is precisely its Members' unity of action.

(Mr. Longchamp, Haiti)

The changes which have occurred in South Africa are not yet either far-reaching or irreversible. Thus, we believe that a great deal remains to be done if South Africa is to become a free, democratic and non-racial society. That being so, we cannot but welcome the establishment at the Durban Conference in October 1991 of the United Patriotic Front, which demonstrated that unity is the best weapon available to liberation movements in coping with the difficulties inherent in the process under way. The means of speeding up the elimination of apartheid are to a large extent in the hands of the population. It is the duty of the various groups to put them to use, with the effective support of the international community.

At this decisive juncture, it is important that whatever is done by the international community, and all those who are struggling against apartheid, should lead not to superficial political and juridical changes but, rather, to the actual elimination of the apartheid system.

We are convinced that the United Nations, and in particular the Special Committee against Apartheid, will not fail in its mission, as set forth in the mandates. Moreover, it is our hope that the parties involved will agree as soon as possible on a new constitutional order for a non-racial, free and democratic South Africa.

Mr. ABDUL-WAHID (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): At its forty-sixth session, on 13 December 1991, the General Assembly considered the item entitled, "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa". At that session, the General Assembly adopted further resolutions concerning this issue and thus was able to maintain the consensus reached in 1989 through the adoption of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

(Mr. Abdul-Wahid, United Arab Emirates)

The positive developments which have taken place in South Africa, notably the meeting between the leaders of the parties to the conflict, have deepened our conviction that there is a need for further international efforts in support of peaceful progress in South Africa towards agreement on the establishment of a democratic, non-racial society in that country in which all would be equal without any discrimination between one individual and another on the basis of race or colour.

The United Arab Emirates shared the satisfaction of the international community regarding the results of the referendum conducted by the Government of South Africa, and viewed it as a positive prelude to ending the policy of apartheid in South Africa. We hope that the recent agreement between the President of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Mandela, and President de Klerk will lead to the resumption of the talks after the acts of violence which took place in South Africa and to the acceleration of the institution of a transitional government to implement the political reforms and to elaborate a new constitution that would eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and put an end to violence.

The political process in South Africa has entered upon a new phase as a result of the setting up in December 1991 of a framework for negotiation. However, the events of May 1992 indicated that the political process in that country is fragile, and that a sustainable process of negotiation towards a peaceful settlement requires not only the political will and tolerance of the leaders engaged in the talks, but also a local climate of peace.

My delegation views with satisfaction the fact that all political parties and major organizations in South Africa have welcomed the decision by the

(Mr. Abdul-Wahid, United Arab Emirates)

Security Council, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Commonwealth and the European Community to send observers to monitor political violence there. My delegation hopes that the presence of impartial observers may help defuse political tension and promote the possibilities of creating a climate in which serious and constructive negotiations may lead to a durable solution in South Africa. My delegation also hopes that the authorities in South Africa may shoulder fully and impartially the fundamental responsibilities of governance and thereby put an end to the continuing violence, protect human life and protect property for all in South Africa, bring to justice those responsible for the acts of violence, and not cooperate or connive with them, as those authorities did in the past.

In conclusion, my country urges all parties that have signed the National Peace Accord to re-commit themselves to the process of political change by implementing the provisions of that accord effectively and in full. My country also commends the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to put an end to the acts of violence and to create the appropriate conditions for negotiations that would lead to transforming South Africa into a unified, non-racial State.

Mr. KARUKUBIRO KAMUNANWIRE (Uganda): I wish at the outset to express my appreciation to Ambassador Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for the lucid and thoughtful introduction of the Special Committee's report for 1992. The Special Committee, with the diligent support provided by the Centre against Apartheid, has over the years made a valuable contribution in the crusade of the international community against apartheid.

(Mr. Karukubiro Kamunanwire, Uganda)

My appreciation equally goes to Ambassador Nyakyi of the United Republic of Tanzania, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa; Ambassador Huslid of Norway, Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for South Africa; and Ambassador Maycock of Barbados, Chairman of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports. Their introductory statements have been most helpful in putting our deliberations in perspective by outlining the obstacles that we have yet to overcome in our struggle to eradicate apartheid, and the steps which are being taken or which need to be taken to prepare for a post-apartheid South Africa.

As I am speaking towards the end of this debate, I shall be brief. Most of the points I wished to make have been well articulated by the speakers who have intervened in the debate before me. I shall therefore confine my remarks to a few points that my delegation considers important.

It is worth reminding ourselves that ever since India first raised this question at the United Nations in 1946, a major preoccupation of the Organization has been to bring about the dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic and non-racial policy in South Africa. We have travelled a long way towards this end. But, as the reports before the Assembly show, there are several hurdles to cross. The Chairman of the Special Committee quite appropriately reminded us that this is not the time for any Member State or group of States in the United Nations to equivocate, to show fatigue or prematurely to declare that apartheid is dead.

When the General Assembly considered this item at its forty-fifth session, it was against a backdrop of positive developments which gave us hope that by the time we convened here at this session we would have in place

(Mr. Karukubiro Kamunanwire, Uganda)

transitional arrangements that would pave the way for a new South Africa based on a non-racial and democratic constitution. Our hopes were raised when the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) was launched in December 1991 and when it first adopted a Declaration of Intent in which the participants agreed "to bring about an undivided South Africa free from apartheid" (A/47/22, para. 6). They also agreed on fundamental constitutional principles. The overwhelming endorsement of the reforms and the negotiation process in a whites-only referendum raised further expectations, despite our misgivings on the lack of universality, that President de Klerk would move boldly to increase the momentum of change and ensure that the process was irreversible.

Regrettably, thereafter developments in South Africa rather than improving took a dramatic turn for the worse and led to the suspension of the negotiations under CODESA. At issue is whether the Government of South Africa is sincere and negotiating in good faith. Violence threatens to derail the negotiation process.

(Mr. Karukubird Kamunanwire, Uganda)

The failure of the South African Government to prevent and contain this violence, in which the lives of thousands of the black population are being lost, raises legitimate doubts about the sincerity of the regime. Our doubts are strengthened by the revelations of the Justice Goldstone Commission which has uncovered evidence of "a third force" at the highest levels of the South African Defence Force which is bent on protecting white power and is engaged in covert operations against the African National Congress (ANC). In order to restore confidence in the process President de Klerk needs to take drastic steps to control violence and to stamp out of the security apparatus the "third-force elements".

Paragraph 175 of the report of the Special Committee states

> "...the political process ... is fragile and vulnerable, and ... a sustained process to reach a peaceful, negotiated solution needs not only political will and tolerance among the leadership involved in the negotiations, but also a climate of domestic peace in the society as a whole". (A/47/22, para. 175)

We agree, but a primary responsibility falls on the South African Government to ensure that a peaceful climate, conducive to negotiations, exists. In this regard I commend Mr. Nelson Mandela of the ANC, and other liberation movements, who, in spite of the provocations, have demonstrated their statesmanship and continued their search for peaceful and durable solutions. We appeal to all the leaders to rededicate themselves to the National Peace Accord and to this end cooperate in curbing the violence.

While the people of South Africa have a primary responsibility for determining their destiny, the United Nations and the international community have an important role to play to assist them. Uganda thus welcomed the

(Mr. Karukubird Kamunanwire, Uganda)

decisions of the United Nations - in accordance with Security Council resolution 772 (1992) - the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Commonwealth to send observers to South Africa to monitor the situation. The presence of observers will be helpful not only in defusing political tension but also in facilitating dialogue and communication between the parties. Uganda's view is that the gravity of the situation is such that more observers are needed to ensure an effective international presence.

The United Nations approach to bringing about the transformation in South Africa has been two-pronged. On one hand the international community has been exerting pressure on the apartheid regime to dismantle the apartheid apparatus, and on the other it has been providing assistance to the domestic forces in South Africa. This two-pronged approach must be continued until an irreversible change has been effected.

We maintain that an irreversible change will occur only when the apartheid constitution, which underpins the system, has been scrapped and replaced by one that guarantees human rights and political freedoms for all South Africans. Uganda was a party to the Harare Commonwealth Communiqué, which agreed on phased sanctions depending on the progress registered. We believe that the lifting of all sanctions is not only premature but can also be counter-productive. It was sanctions that brought South Africa to the negotiating table. These sanctions are necessary to keep the de Klerk Government at the table negotiating in good faith. The evidence unearthed by the Goldstone Commission vividly brings out the need for us to remain vigilant.

As we put pressure on South Africa to change, it is important for us to prepare for a post-apartheid South Africa. In this regard I commend the United Nations Training Programme for South Africa, which has enabled many

(Mr. Karukubird Kamunanwire, Uganda)

South Africans both inside and outside the country to obtain professional skills and expertise. We note with appreciation that the Programme's new projects are aimed at strengthening the capabilities and decision-making role of organizations and institutions that serve disadvantaged South Africans. The Programme should contribute to restoring the culture of learning among the youth who have borne the brunt of the struggle.

As pointed out in the report of the Special Committee, there are many socio-economic inequalities deeply rooted in apartheid which still plague the population. These can undermine a peaceful and stable development of the country well beyond the period of transition. It is imperative to put in place measures to address these inequalities and integrate the black population into the mainstream of the economy. This will enable the post-apartheid South Africa not only to be stable but also to play an important role in the subregion, the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African States (PTA) and the African region once it is readmitted to the comity of nations. The Special Committee has an important role in mobilizing international support in this regard.

Currently there is a restructuring exercise both in the Secretariat and in international bodies. In the course of restructuring, moves are being made to abolish some organs and/or to redeploy resources to areas where there is a great need. In our view the eradication of apartheid, which has been described as a crime against humanity, is a major priority of the United Nations. As we are approaching a democratic South Africa the challenges facing the Committee in its work to hasten the demise of apartheid and to prepare the people of South Africa for a new post-apartheid era will increase. It follows, therefore, that the Special Committee and the Centre

(Mr. Karukubird Kamunanwire, Uganda)

against Apartheid need to be strengthened and provided with adequate resources to enable them to fulfil their mandate at this critical juncture of their work. We call on the Secretary-General to take this into account in his restructuring exercise.

In conclusion, I wish to stress that the most urgent task at hand is to end the violence and to put the negotiations back on track. The General Assembly should send a clear message that international pressure will not be relaxed until an interim government is installed in South Africa.

Mr. KHAN (Bangladesh): The General Assembly is considering agenda items 33 and 34 at a very crucial moment in the history of South Africa. The abhorrent practice of racism and racial discrimination, institutionalized in the framework of apartheid, has been characterized as a crime against human civilization. The international community, including my own country, Bangladesh, has over the years and in no uncertain terms expressed its unwavering determination to eradicate this blot on humanity and also expressed support for the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa to build a non-racial society based on human dignity and justice.

(Mr. Khan, Bangladesh)

The political process that began in 1990 gave us reason for guarded optimism, and we hoped that the negotiating process aimed at eradication of the practice of apartheid would soon acquire sufficient momentum to enable the parties concerned in South Africa to agree on a new constitutional order for a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa.

We are dismayed that the political process has suffered setbacks and delays, and that the system of apartheid still persists. It is against this backdrop that we are considering the report of the Special Committee, in document A/47/22.

My delegation fully agrees with the report of the Special Committee that we cannot view apartheid as a closed page in the history of South Africa. Apartheid will be eradicated only when a new constitution has been adopted and a non-racial government installed as a result of free and fair elections based on this constitution. Apartheid in South Africa has bitterly divided a nation and resulted in glaring inequities, and its legacy would take long years to overcome.

Unfulfilled expectations of the majority people of South Africa, violence and deprivation are very real threats that could push the country to the brink of civil war. We must understand that time is on no one's side. The economic and social price for delaying a settlement is also growing rapidly.

The report of the Special Committee has rightly acknowledged the positive developments that have taken place in South Africa. The creation of a negotiating framework in December 1991, the whites-only referendum of March 1992 and the repeal of some black laws have created a better climate for negotiations.

(Mr. Khan, Bangladesh)

However, we remain concerned that negotiations were suspended because of the outbreak of political violence which has taken a heavy toll in human lives. We are particularly appalled at the Boipatong massacre. We are concerned at the ineffective response of the South African Government to the killings of innocent people. It is clearly the responsibility of the Pretoria Government to control township violence and create an atmosphere conducive to the resumption of negotiations.

We hope that the National Peace Accord signed in September 1991 by 23 parties, including the South African Government, the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, will be honoured by all parties concerned.

We are convinced that the Convention on a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) is the most appropriate and viable framework for peaceful change in South Africa. We welcome the willingness of the parties concerned to return to negotiations. We are also grateful to the Secretary-General for the timely dispatch of his Special Representative and observers to help defuse political tension and promote an environment of dialogue. Bangladesh hopes that the process of negotiations would lead to the building of a new South Africa.

The launching of CODESA has generated hopes and expectations amongst the people of South Africa. Another important development is the Record of Understanding signed between President De Klerk of South Africa and the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela. We hope that this will lead to the removal of the remaining irritants in the negotiating process, including the release of all remaininq political prisoners.

The process of dismantling apartheid certainly needs support and encouragement. We agree with the recommendation of the Special Committee to

(Mr. Khan, Bangladesh)

support the process in South Africa through phased application of appropriate measures as warranted by developments on the ground. We feel that the existing sanctions and measures imposed by the Security Council for the purpose of bringing about an early end to apartheid in South Africa should remain in place until the stated objectives are achieved.

The opportunity of bringing about an end to apartheid must not be missed. The process of change in South Africa must be encouraged, nourished and pushed forward. All impediments to negotiations must be removed and political violence must end. The United Nations in general and the Special Committee against Apartheid in particular have a responsibility to put South Africa on the irreversible track towards the total elimination of apartheid. Bangladesh will always extend its full support to this endeavour.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members that draft resolution A/47/L.15 and other draft resolutions to be submitted under these agenda items will be considered at a later date to be announced in the Journal.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.